

KWAN-SAN-MAN Message No. 381

3 November 1932

To: Vice Minister of War, YANAGIGAWA, Heisuke
From: Chief of Staff, Kwantung Army, KOISO, Kuniaki
Subject: Forwarding of Outline for Guiding MANCHUKUO.

Since we have now obtained a concrete program pertaining to the subject which we have previously been studying and working on, we are forwarding it as seen in the separate volume.

Excerpts from:
A War Minister's Confidential Record Concerning
Manchurian Affairs, dated December 8, 1923

The Principle of Leading Manchukuo

The Staff Section of the Kwantung Army. This draft is a compilation of the Kwantung Army's opinion towards the draft drawn by the Second Section of the General Staff Headquarters, and NAGATA, Chief of the Second Section who was in Manchukuo at that time, attended this conference.

(1) Policy.

1. Manchukuo shall be supported and developed as an independent state which shall adapt herself to our national policy and realize co-prosperity and harmony between Japan and Manchukuo.

2. The polity of Manchukuo in the future shall nominally be a constitutional empire, but substantially it shall be autocratic. The participation of the people in the legislature shall be carried out by those who are selected by the Government.

3. The establishment of institutions and improvement in the various departments of the state of Manchukuo shall be performed as moderately as possible.

(2) The List.

1. The administration shall be backed for the time being by inner leadership of the commander of the Japanese Kwantung Army and shall be carried out with officials of Japanese lineage as its leaders. However, it must be provided that the officials of Manchukuoan lineage shall outwardly assume charge of the administration as much as possible, while officials of Japanese lineage must satisfy themselves by controlling its substance. In order to have the aforesaid substance completed, the administrator shall be a king as in accordance to the people's will, but the political authority of the king shall not be recognized.

2. Even when an organ of administration by civilians is to be established by Imperial ordinance, with aims of accomplishing the national policy of the Japanese Empire towards Manchukuo, it shall be provided that the commander of the Kwantung Army shall hold concurrently the position of the chief in the organ.

3. In order to put the officials of Japanese lineage completely and substantially under the control of the

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3. In order to put the officials of Japanese lineage completely and substantially under the control of the

commander of the Army, the rights on the personal affairs held by the commander of the Army at present, shall be permanently maintained, shall be executed strictly and properly. For the sake of making the activities of the officials of Japanese lineage advantageous, the central Government including the respective ministries shall establish the principle of centralizing administration in the General Affairs Office; at the same time it shall appoint promising officials to this office. It is necessary that due attention be given in leading the Manchukuan officials of Japanese ancestry since, in future, their circle might be inclined to be absorbed and involved in political plots characteristic of the Chinese, and finally in losing the ability in accomplishing the whole national policy of the Empire.

4. The guiding spirit in the establishment of Manchukuo shall be based upon the principle of racial harmony with its objective in practical moral, which is in the attaining of wealth; security in livelihood; moral cultivation and good household.

Education is to be carried out according to the above principle, with emphasis being placed in vocational education, especially in the promotion of vocational education below the secondary schools.

5. Economically, co-prosperity and co-existence, in the true sense of the words, shall be the basic principle and each race shall be given opportunities to find their proper places. In regard to the economic system of Manchukuo the good conventions and customs inheritant from the past shall be respected, and with the addition of the national control to the present condition of economics trending towards and developing into capitalism, it shall be guided in a proper way. In the future, the system accompanying accomplishment of a unit for an economic "bloc" between Japan and Manchukuo shall be kept according to the race coordinative to Japan and Manchukuo.

6. Armament shall be aimed in maintaining public peace and order within the country and, shall be only limited to a degree deemed necessary. Especially, the army's individualistic and private characteristics shall be dispensed with and the essence of a centralized command shall be realized.

7. Diplomatically, although her attitude towards China shall be non-interference in principle, she shall adopt an anti-Chinese principle according to the circumstances, and her attitude towards the Soviet and the U.S.A. shall be the same as towards Japan.

For the time being, she shall advocate the Open Door Policy and the policy of Equality in Opportunity and shall welcome foreign investment as long as there is no danger in her national defence.

8. In regard to the adjustment of relations between Japan and Manchukuo, the following must be borne in mind:

- A. Joint defense of both countries shall be perfected.
- B. In order to realize the economy of Japan and Manchukuo into a single "bloc", we must realize industrially the idea of "Fit industry for suitable locality" both in Japan and Manchukuo with aim of abolishing the mutual customs barriers. However, the national defence industry shall be met with the demand of the above article "A."
- C. The economy of Japan and Manchukuo shall aim in the realization of the self-sufficing of both countries under the principle of co-prosperity and co-existence; and at the same time must attempt advance towards the scale of world industry.

9. Although in principle, centralization of powers is to be effected internally, it shall be possible to omit or legislate articles according to circumstances, and thus, the tradition of local autonomy shall be respected as much as permissible. Home administration aims chiefly at security in living and comfortable work under the principle of agriculture and it shall be never be permitted in initiating wantonly, higher culture.

10. According to the peculiarities connected with the establishment of Manchukuo, and in view of the situation, internally as well as externally, substantial realization of racial harmony, together with adjustments and repletion of the inspection system throughout the country shall be effected, and under the direction of the army, preventive measures shall be taken against political and ideological movements for national destruction which may arise from the inside or outside of the country.

11. For some time, political parties and political bodies shall not be permitted to exist and we do not welcome the rise of political ideas among the people but rather that we lead the general situation skillfully according to the principle of "Let the people follow blindly."

12. The participation of officials of Japanese lineage in administration shall not necessarily be effected by their numbers; in short, its principle is that the Japanese should occupy the key positions in the administration. Therefore, besides the aforementioned principle to centralize

the General Affairs Office. We must lead the trend in political affairs through control of the Office of State Councillor by the Japanese officials. Although the number in officials of Japanese lineage in offices under the prefectural government are to be limited to the minimum as in accordance to the present system, we shall utilize the inspection system as of Article 10 to keep watch, occasionally over local tendencies. Participation by the Japanese in the fields of industry shall be most welcomed due to its field being different from that of the administration as mentioned above, and the principle of "a right man in the right place" shall be fairly adopted.

We shall attach special importance to immigration in the industrial fields besides those of agriculture according to the principle of "fit industry for suitable locality," as mentioned in "B" of 8.

13. Racial struggle between Japan and Manchukuo is to be expected. Therefore, we must never hesitate to wield military power in case of necessity, although every effort must be made to prevent this conflict; and for this purpose the aforementioned occupying of politically important posts, advocating economical co-prosperity and co-existence, and the establishing of the inspection system should be made.

14. Present day Manchukuo must be lead by emphasis laid in the maintenance and restoration of public peace by the use of military and political powers, and all departments in administration must be concentrated and united to this single point.